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URARTU, GREECE AND ETRURIA

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URARTU, GREECE AND ETRURIA^(*)

I.

The tenth International Congress of Historical Science held in Rome in September 1955 ⁽¹⁾, gave an opportunity for valuable direct contacts with the Soviet scholars and a more accurate knowledge of the results of some of their research activities and explorations which, until now, were known little or not at all ⁽²⁾. I attach special importance to the account given by Professor B.B. Piotrovsky of the excavations he has been directing for fifteen years in Soviet Armenia at Karmir-Blur (in Armenian « the red hill ») near Erivan, on the site of the ancient Urartian city of Teshebani ⁽³⁾. Apart from their main historical interest for our knowledge of ancient Urartu and of the Near East civilisations in general, these excavations seem to have thrown light on a question which has attracted the attention of scholars over a long period of years, viz. the similarities between some of the archaeological finds from Urartu and from Etruria. For this reason Piotrovsky's findings call for our careful examination.

As is known, the more important discoveries of Urartian objects, chiefly metal work, have been made near the Lake of Van, the centre of that highland kingdom which flourished from the ninth down to the begin-

ning of the sixth century B.C., rivalling Assyria. Its inhabitants were of Western Asian stock ⁽⁴⁾. Yet Urartian evidence has been found further North, along the Upper Valley of the Araxes and round the Lake of Sevan, i.e. in Transcaucasia. Soviet excavations have revealed at Karmir-Blur a fortified city which became, during the seventh century, the chief town of this Northern Province. It was probably the last bulwark of Urartu before its overthrow by the Scythians.

It should be stated at once that this research work is an important mile-stone in the archaeological discovery of Urartu. In fact, after more than a hundred years of sporadic explorations and clandestine plundering ⁽⁵⁾, for the first time an organised expedition, with the joint participation of the Armenian Academy of Sciences and the Hermitage, is carrying out systematic excavations on a large scale.

The work, which was begun in 1933, suspended during the war and taken up again in 1945, has allowed us to ascertain the existence of an extensive town area, partly enclosed by straight walls, occupying a flat space more or less trapezoid in shape, with a perimeter of almost two kilometers, as well as an acropolis containing a wealth of impressive buildings on the summit of a hill. This hill has been the starting point of very thorough excavations which are still under way (Fig. 1). On the acropolis rose the fortress palace, the residence of the governor of Transcaucasia, and perhaps also a royal residence. The layout of this palace, as far as can be judged from the portion already excavated, offers more or less striking similarities to the Mesopotamian (for

(*) The first part of this paper was first published in Italian under the title « Gli scavi di Karmir-Blur in Armenia e il problema delle connessioni tra l'Urartu, la Grecia e l'Etruria » in *Archeologia Classica* (VII, 1955, pp. 109-123); some bibliographical references have been added. The second part partially reproduces the matter of a note (« Etruria ed Urartu. Nota di aggiornamento »), which has also been published in *Archeologia Classica* (IX, 1957, pp. 88-96) with many further additions and improvements, especially dealing with bibliography and archaeological news.

instance Mari), Hittite and Minoan palaces. It is in brickwork, with some parts in stone while some of the inside walls are plastered and decorated with paintings.

The part of the palace which has already been brought to light is almost all occupied by oblong warehouses containing rows of large stone jars, fixed in the beaten floor. The huge area occupied by these store-rooms throws light upon the administrative organization of the territory, the palace being the pivot of the tribute system. The economy of the country is illustrated by the products found: wheat, barley, sesame for oil production (a work carried out in the palace itself, as is shown by the oilmills and the 152 oil jars, with a total capacity of over 160,000 litres, found there), wine, textiles, implements, arms, furnishings in wood and metal, jewelry, etc. Of special interest are some notable pieces decorated with figures, among which a bronze statuette of the god Tesheba, who was the patron and eponym of the city (Fig. 2), a bronze vessel with bull's head attachments (Fig. 3), bronze-plate helmets (Fig. 4), shields (Fig. 5) and quivers decorated with strips of men and armed figures. Most of these objects were found placed together in the store-vases of the warehouses. Some of them had cuneiform inscriptions in the Chaldian language, showing that they belonged to the eighth century Urartian kings, Menuas, Argishtis I, Sardur II, and Rusas I.

As other epigraphic sources show that the city of Teshebani was founded, or at least made into a royal fortress by King Rusas II (680-645 B.C.), we are led to suppose that these objects were brought there from the

treasure houses of more ancient residences. They seem to have been heaped up in a hasty manner and placed in unsuitable containers. There is also the evidence of a conflagration and fire; and Scythian weapons were found around and inside the acropolis. This is clear testimony that the final stage of the Urartian stronghold, attacked by the Iranians at the time of, or shortly after, the fall of the capital of the Kingdom, Tushpa, was at the very beginning of the sixth century.

Above all, our interest centres on the figured bronzes of Karmir-Blur, not only because they give further proof of the high level reached in Urartian metal-work ⁽⁶⁾ but also and more particularly on account of their relation to the artistic metalwork of the Mediterranean countries. This question, previously examined by Karo ⁽⁷⁾ and Herzfeld ⁽⁸⁾, was fully dealt with by the most illustrious explorer of the monuments and antiquities of Armenia, Lehmann-Haupt ⁽⁹⁾, who devoted himself more especially to the task of studying and illustrating the affinities between Urartu and Etruria. He emphasized the identity of some types such as the well-known « siren » attachments for bronze cauldrons, generally but incorrectly described as *Assurattaschen* (Figs. 6, 14-16, 19-20). Lehmann-Haupt also noted in both these regions the beginning and development of animal legs in the bronze tripods, and then extended his comparisons to the buccherolike pottery, rock architecture and hydraulic works. Many of these similarities can be considered as part of that vast and many-sided movement which brought Eastern features to the West, giving birth to the so-called « orientalisising » culture of Greece and Italy.

As a matter of fact, Urartian types have been generally noticed in this « orientalisising » influence. But attention has been more especially drawn to the Urartian-Etruscan relation, since it could be explained by the traditional hypothesis of the Eastern origin of the Etruscans, and this favored further search for comparison ⁽¹⁰⁾.

Let us now examine in particular the data and the suggestions offered by the new discoveries at Karmir-Blur. I should like in the first place to call the attention of scholars to the shape and the decoration of the two votive helmets bearing the name of King Argishtis I (about 780-760 B.C.) ⁽¹¹⁾ (Fig. 4) and Sardur II (about 760-733) ⁽¹²⁾. The bell-shape with elongated conical point is the usual Assyrian

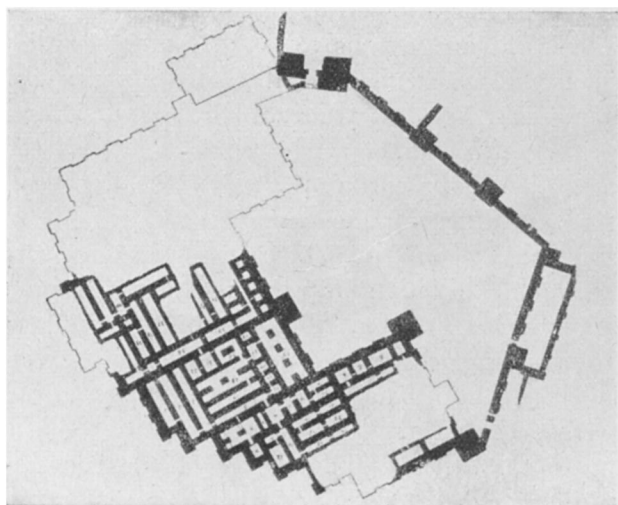


Fig. 1: Karmir-Blur, Plan of the Palace.



Fig. 2: Karmir-Blur, bronze statuette portraying the god Tesheba.

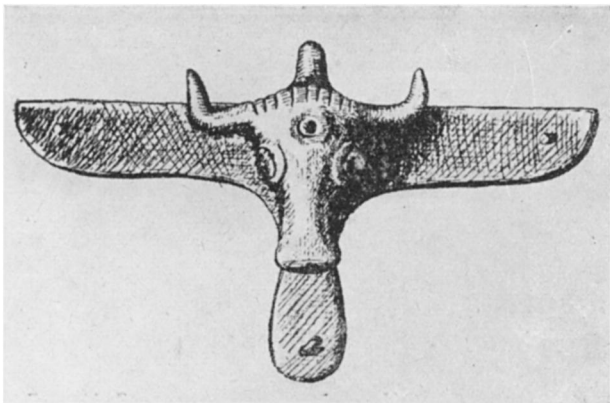


Fig. 3: Karmir-Blur, bull-headed attachment of a bronze vessel.

model and we find replicas of it in other specimens found at Karmir-Blur ⁽¹³⁾. What characterises the helmets of Argishtis and Sardur is the repoussé design of figures and the singular concentric hooked pattern, curved symmetrically on both sides towards the forehead. In the frontal section, two superimposed friezes show sacred trees framed by figures of beardless genii or of bearded and winged genii arranged alternately, of pure Mesopotamian type; another sacred tree is found above the two friezes, between the ends of the hooked reliefs. Two more detached friezes run along the back of the helmet, on which war chariots alternate with armed horsemen, also of Assyrian type (Fig. 7). See also the similar designs on the royal quivers found in the same excavations ⁽¹⁴⁾. But the unspecific representation of these groups of warriors and their rhythmic alternating decorations seem to differentiate them from the well-known great Assyrian monuments, where particular historical details are represented with varied models of composition.

These decorative friezes remind us rather of the patterns of some Syro-Hittite reliefs ⁽¹⁵⁾ and still more of the archaic Phrygian figure plates of the Gordion temple ⁽¹⁶⁾, the reliefs of the tombs of Xanthos ⁽¹⁷⁾, the archaic terracotta friezes of the Aeolian and Ionic cities of Western Anatolia ⁽¹⁸⁾ and, through these last, of the Ionic terracotta friezes of the Etrusco-Latin temples ⁽¹⁹⁾. The figure that occurs to me as the nearest parallel to the horseman with a round shield and weapon held erect, is that of the figure of a relief from Tel Halaf ⁽²⁰⁾ (Fig. 8). All this would seem to point to a chain of figurative transmissions which, starting from Urartu,

Upper Mesopotamia and North Syria, through an inland route via Anatolia, reached the Aegean coasts between the eighth and the sixth centuries B.C.

Of special interest is the pattern consisting of four hooks terminating in lions' heads. This immediately recalls the horns of the head-dress of the Mesopotamian divinities, but no less evident is the singularity of these « horns » which, instead of turning upwards (as for instance, in the images of the genii represented on the front side of the same helmets) turn downwards in an exceptional manner, following a pattern of incomplete concentric semi-circles. This might be a special conventionalised version of the usual horn motif. But we should not fail to take into account the doubt that arises from the fact that the horned head-dress was generally attributed only to divinities. Our bronze helmets are like the helmets of warriors represented in the small repoussé reliefs which seem to be pointed and with horizontal lines at their base. This leads us to think that they were part of the armour of the sovereigns, rather than that of the god Khaldi to whom, according to the inscriptions, they were being offered. Let us leave the solution of this problem to qualified orientalists.

But there is a point on which we wish to dwell. In one of his most recent writings ⁽²¹⁾, Silvio Ferri refers to the East as the territory from which many motifs of the classical world came; and he suggests a « genetic method » based on the comparison of fundamental features, even if they be far apart both in time and space, as a means for finding the explanation of artistic manifestations of Greece and Italy, in proto-historic and in historic times. There is really nothing new in this, either as a requirement, or as the way of considering the problem, or as a mode of procedure ⁽²²⁾; and Ferri goes on to develop these premises with the help of examples that are undoubtedly very suggestive. Among the comparisons that he offers for the consideration of archaeologists there is that of the head-covering of some small bronze heads of the seventh century from Vetulonia (ornaments for candelabra?) ⁽²³⁾, (Figs. 9 and 10), which he likens to the horned head-dress of a North Syrian stone head. This would suggest that the four nervures forming concentric arches on the sides of the head-covering of the Vetulonia figurines are derived from the four rows of horns of the usual Mesopotamian horned head-dress. But quite



Fig. 4: Karmir-Blur, decorated bronze helmet bearing a dedication of the King Argishtis I.

an obvious fact has escaped the attention of Ferri, namely that the Vetulonia head-coverings are no other than the well-known crest helmets of the Villanova type, found all over

Italy and, with some variants, also in Iron Age central Europe (²⁴). These are reproduced in much the same conventional form in the contemporary metal or terracotta figurines

representing warriors. There is however the fact that the concentric arched nervures have not been found, as far as I know, in any other type of crest helmet, either real or reproduced. Now the discoveries of Karmir-Blur really confirm by actual examples the theory of the Oriental origin of this feature, for the Urartian bronze helmets are, in all probability, foreign to the type of head-dress worn by divinities, and their hooks approach a pattern of concentric arches.

Moreover, it is highly probable that the type of European crest helmet which Merhart calls « *mit Pickelhaube* » ⁽²⁵⁾ was influenced by the

Assyrian bell-shaped model. This strengthens our opinion that the helmets on the small Vetulonia heads and the splendid princely helmets from Karmir-Blur, are related.

Let us now consider the bronze shields with concentric friezes, also bearing votive inscriptions, of Argishtis (Fig. 5) and Sardur ⁽²⁶⁾. Here we have not, as in the case of the helmets, shapes new to the Urartian world ⁽²⁷⁾; indeed, we can say that the round shield, with its concentric circles, was known to the Near East — as appears from the Assyrian war reliefs ⁽²⁸⁾ — as a « national weapon » of the Urartian warriors. It is found here in North Syria or

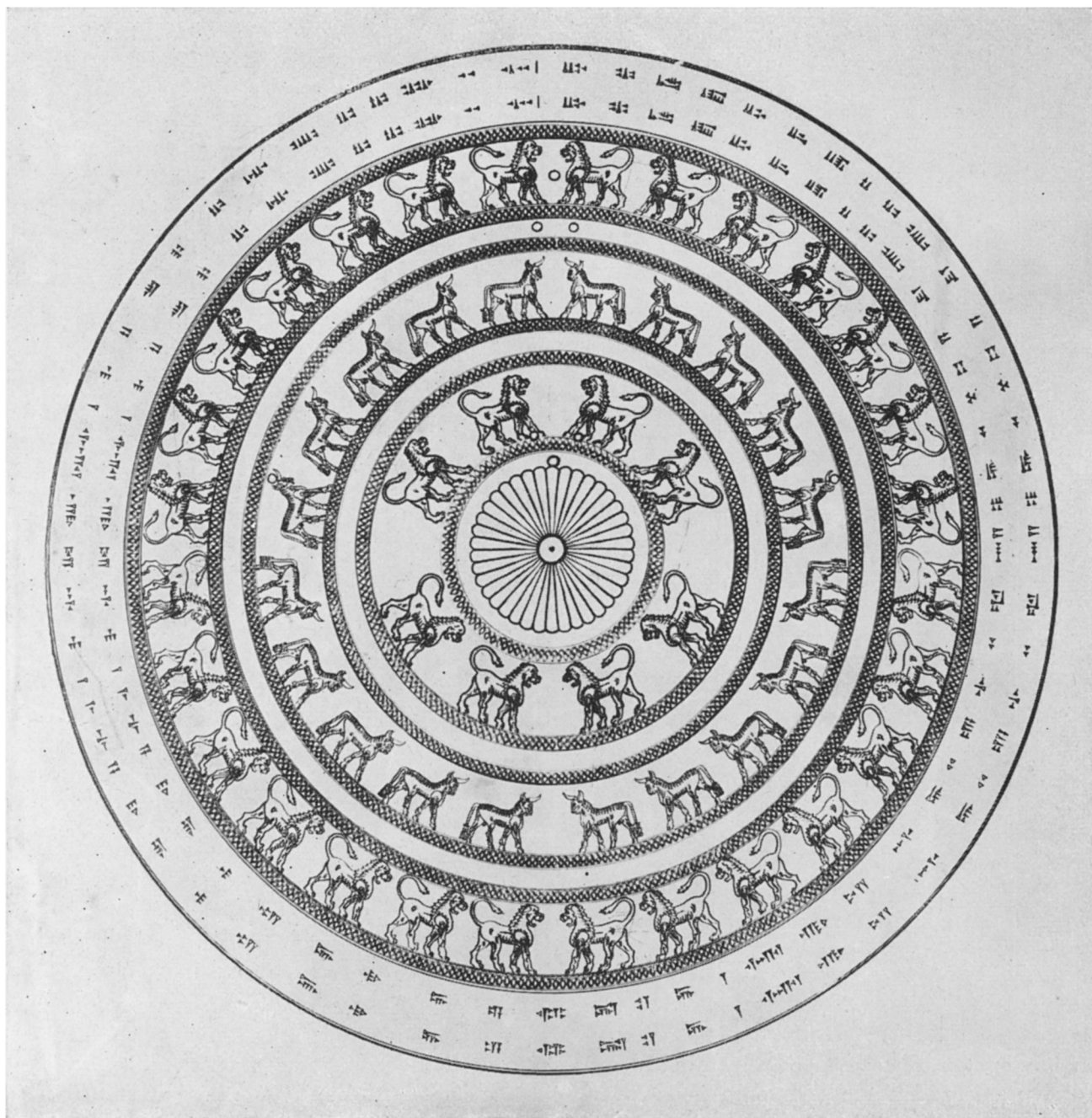


Fig. 5: Karmir-Blur, decorated bronze shield bearing a dedication of the King Argishtis I.

Upper Mesopotamia, in the Tall Halaf relief to which we have already referred (Fig. 8). But, above all, it was to be found far and wide in the West, in Greece, Etruria, and Continental Europe, ever since the end of the Bronze Age ⁽²⁹⁾. The models with concentric friezes showing rows of animals from Urartu are directly comparable to the « orientalis-ing » shields from Crete, Delphi, Olympia, etc. ⁽³⁰⁾. The relation with Crete is one which not only cannot be considered as casual, but is indeed a direct and close one, if we take into account the presence among the shields of Mount Ida of umbones decorated with feline heads like those of the Urartian shields shown in the Assyrian relief illustrating the sack of the temple of Muṣaṣir ⁽³¹⁾, (Fig. 11), and above all if we consider the typical pomegranate pattern of the Karmir-Blur shields which re-appears in the Idaean shield, known as that of Zeus and the Corybantes ⁽³²⁾. The style of animals, more especially of bulls and lions, on the Cretan shields, also recalls Urartian and Northern Syrian features, rather than the models of the Syrian coastlands or of Assyria. As regards the round Etruscan shields with circular friezes, the connexion seems to be more remote, for here geometrical patterns are still prevailing and only a timid introduction of the animal element can be observed, this being due to the advent of early orientalis-ing models from the Greek world ⁽³³⁾.

The cast bronze bull-head attachments, such as those found in 1946 in room N. 12 of the palace (Fig. 3) ⁽³⁴⁾, lead us to another no less interesting series of observations. The flat supporting piece with holes for the rivets, shaped roughly but closely resembling the spread wings and tail of a bird, suffices to connect these features with the well-known class of the so-called « Assurattaschen » or « siren » attachments. A similar type, though lacking the little link for the great movable ring handle, was already known in the Urartian area from the excavations at Altüntepe near Erzingan in Western Armenia, where a wonderful specimen of the cauldron with a tripod stand was brought to light, having on its rim four bulls' heads on plates shaped like conventionalised birds, of finer workmanship — as far as can be seen from the reproductions — than the specimens found at Karmir-Blur. (Fig. 12) ⁽³⁵⁾. Moreover in this latter region the bull's head decoration of bronze cauldrons, has been imitated on a terracotta pot ⁽³⁶⁾.

Here again we must turn to the Greco-



Fig. 6: Toprak-Kale and Ptoion (Greece), « Siren » attachments.

Italian world to find the nearest comparisons. A cauldron said to be coming from Cumae in the Danish National Museum at Copenhagen, shows attachments of the same type as those of Karmir-Blur (Fig. 13), as Klindt-Jensen has already remarked ⁽³⁷⁾. Cast bull protomes, used to decorate lamina vessels or even tripods (but without the bird-shaped plate), are widely

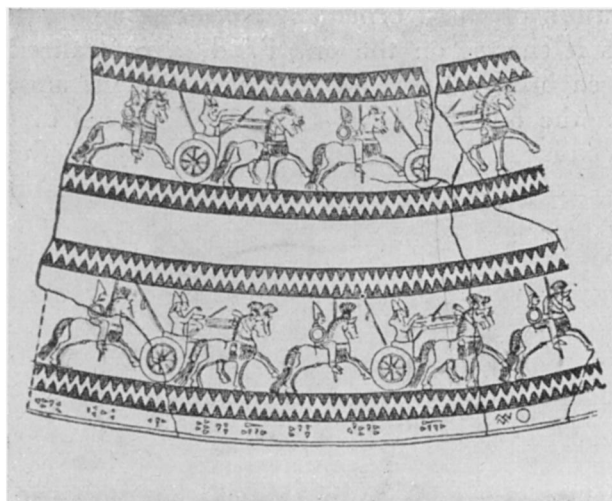


Fig. 7: Karmir-Blur, friezes with chariots and horsemen, detail of the bronze helmet fig. 4.



Fig. 8: Tell Halaf, horseman, stone relief.

known in Greece, Etruria, Hallstatt, and even in Denmark. The earliest of them may date back to the eighth century; the latest, on the Continent, may go down to the very beginning of the Hellenistic Age ⁽³⁸⁾.

The problem of the « siren » attachments, which have often been listed, and concerning which much comparative and historical criticism has been written ⁽³⁹⁾, need not be discussed here directly since, so far, no discoveries of this kind have been reported — though they are always possible and even probable — from the excavation area of Karmir-Blur. But it should be noted that the geographical distribution of these ornaments confirms our data as it shows, on the one hand, a centralised area in Urartu, near the Lake of Van, and, on the other, a considerable widespread diffusion in Greece and Central Italy, to the exclusion, at least until now, of Syria and Cyprus. Let us compare some specimens from Toprak-kale, that is, from the Urartian capital Tushpa (Fig. 6), from the Ptoan (Fig. 6) and Delphi (Fig. 14) sanctuaries in Greece, and from Vetulonia in Etruria (Fig. 15). They show not only unity of style but also the substantial derivation from a single source of inspiration. Their dates may be placed between the eighth and seventh centuries ⁽⁴⁰⁾.

If therefore we consider as a whole the evidence afforded by the bird-shaped attach-

ments, with either bull or human head, we find a relation that is very close and, at the same time interrupted from the geographical point of view between an Eastern group of exclusive and ascertained Urartian production and a Western centre in the Aegean Sea and extending further west towards Mediterranean Italy and northwards to the Danubian countries and Northern Europe. The origin of the bird features is undoubtedly Asiatic, and this shows that the first inspiration of the bird-shaped attachments comes from the Urartian group. But the identity of these types, their close stylistic conformity and their approximate contemporaneity, which makes itself felt in spite of the lack of precise chronological data, show that the transmission was direct and must have been very rapid. Only the accurate laboratory examination of the individual bronzes discovered will be able to tell us if and when the objects in question were exported, or whether the craftsman migrated, or whether they were local imitations of foreign originals.

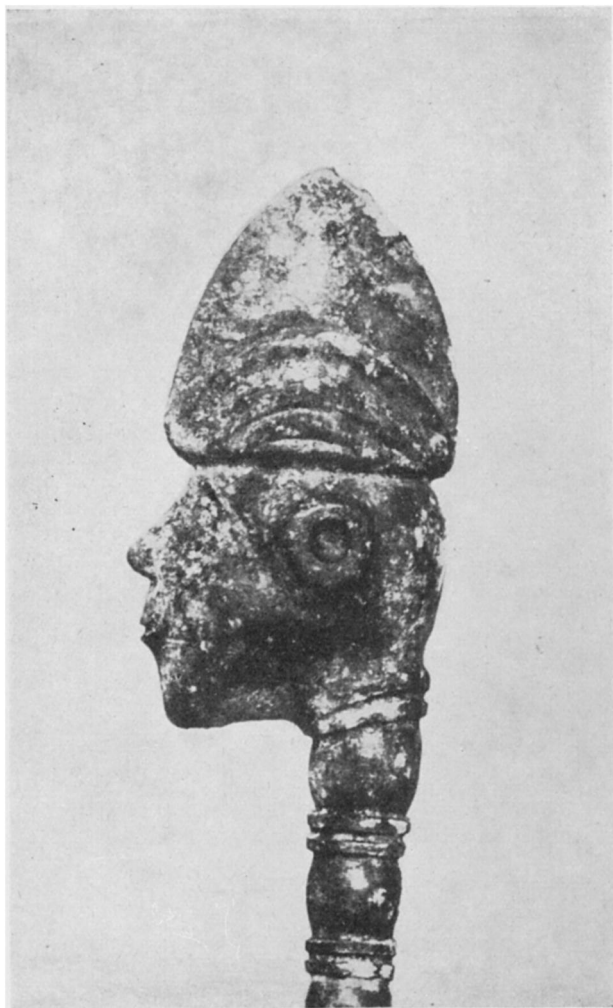
The Erzingan tripod (Fig. 12) offers material, for other reasons, for an interesting discussion of the same problem. This tripod is undoubtedly a specimen of that group of tripods standing on little rods that Riis ⁽⁴¹⁾ classified as the « Early Greek Group ». It is the first example showing Asiatic origin; it bears witness to probable oriental inspiration; and, in any case, it is clear that it dates back at least to the seventh century, as Riis had supposed. Now the very fact that this class of tripod had previously been considered typically Greek as opposed to the class defined the « Cypro-Phoenician Group » (though found in Greece and in Italy too) leads us to the two following conclusions. In the first place it confirms a direct connexion, spanning the intermediate space, between Urartu and the Aegean. In the second place it seems improbable that the area of origin or transmission of this type should be sought for south of Asia Minor, in that maritime belt which, from the coasts of Syria, through Cyprus reaches Crete, within which, from the end of the Bronze and all through the Iron Age, we find prevalent the type of tripods standing on little unbent rods and with the upper ring shaped like a belt, which was the style known as the Cypro-Phoenician. That the origin of the Urartian-Greek group was independent of that of the Cypro-Phoenician group — although both have in common the principle of strengthening

with oblique rods — seems to me clearly shown by the big ring at the base and by the zoomorphic termination of the feet, which are characteristic features of the first type and can be seen also in the specimens reproduced in the famous relief of the sack of Muṣaṣir (Fig. 11) to which we have already referred. In these tripods we seem to recognise a kind of « *Urtypus* » not yet reinforced by the rods, unless this be merely due to the simplification of the drawing by the Assyrian sculptor. The further development of the style of tripods supported on rods in the Greco-Italian world shows a mixture of the Urartian-Greek structure with the Cypro-Phoenician type.

It is now the moment to make some conclusive remarks on the examination and comparison of the objects we have considered. There can be no doubt that a close and repeated connexion exists between the seventh and eighth century metal work from Urartu and those found in Etruria (and in Latium and the Campania), especially as regards the archaeological remains of the «orientalising» period.

But the historical background of this period does not seem to coincide with the hypothesis of that direct connexion between Urartu and Etruria which was strongly supported by Lehmann-Haupt. Sub-Caucasian features and models must have reached Italy through the Aegean, where they have left more important and plentiful evidence, much nearer to the original models than any found in Italy. This leads us to consider that the great cultural centres of Italy, and more especially of Etruria, are a secondary stage in the spread of these Asiatic characteristics; and likewise the countries of Continental Europe seem to have felt these influences later and to a less intense degree.

I do not believe that a careful critical enquiry into further similarities between Etruria and Urartu would lead to very different conclusions. Let us consider, for instance, the twin outside facing animal protomes (ram or bull) which are so frequent in Etruscan and Picene seventh century bronze work (⁴²). These are surely of Asiatic and very probably Urartian



Figs. 9-10: Vetulonia, small bronze heads of warriors (Florence, Museo Archeologico).

origin (⁴³). But there is much evidence of these also in Greece (⁴⁴). After the other affinities adduced in favor of the idea of a relationship between Urartu and Etruria, such, for instance as the presence in Urartu of black pottery or even of rock architecture, the very fact that these were common in Western Asia and in the Mediterranean countries deprives this specific comparison of all value. Therefore, all things considered, there does not seem to be any deep correspondence between Urartian and Etruscan work that would justify the belief of primary contact between these two peoples. Still less can these connexions support the theory of the coming of the Etruscans from the East!

Much more interesting is the problem presented by the appearance of objects, patterns, and figures which, even if not identical, resemble each other very closely — and of whose genetic affinity there can be no doubt — within the cultural area of the Urartu kingdom and, more or less contemporaneously, in « orientalisising » Greece with its western and northern ramifications. It is known that the chief source or inspiration of that complex phenomenon which we call the « orientalisising » culture, have to be sought in the Mediterranean Near East from Egypt to Syria and Cyprus, and more especially in the Syro-Cypriote *koinè*. The chief routes for the transmission of Levantine work and artistic influences must have been above all the maritime trade along the southern coast of Anatolia, which was very active from the earliest prehistoric periods,

and had acquired the character of a regular system of trade channels ever since the Mycenaean age. But alongside these nearer and « maritime » elements, we find signs of more remote and « continental » trends which, in a general way, are connected with Asia Minor, North Syria, the Armenian area and Mesopotamia; and it is among these trends that the Urartian group of bronzes occupies a notable, compact and characteristic place. Their appearance in the Greco-Italian world is all the more interesting and singular because of the lack of reliable intermediate links in the area separating the two regions.

It is not my intention here to attempt to solve this arduous but extremely fascinating problem; such an attempt would involve the re-examination of all the comparative material at our disposal, material which is much vaster than that mentioned in commenting on the new discoveries at Karmir-Blur. Nevertheless, I should like to remark that even as regards the few special considerations brought forward in this essay, the planning of a historical enquiry to discover the real part played by Urartu in the Greco-Italian « orientalisising » movement might be greatly facilitated by studying separately and methodically two different aspects of the matter. On the one hand, we have the problem of the relations of the Urartians with the Western Asian peoples and cultures, *i.e.* with the Upper-Mesopotamian (Subarian), Syro-Hittite and more generally Anatolian tradition, detaching them

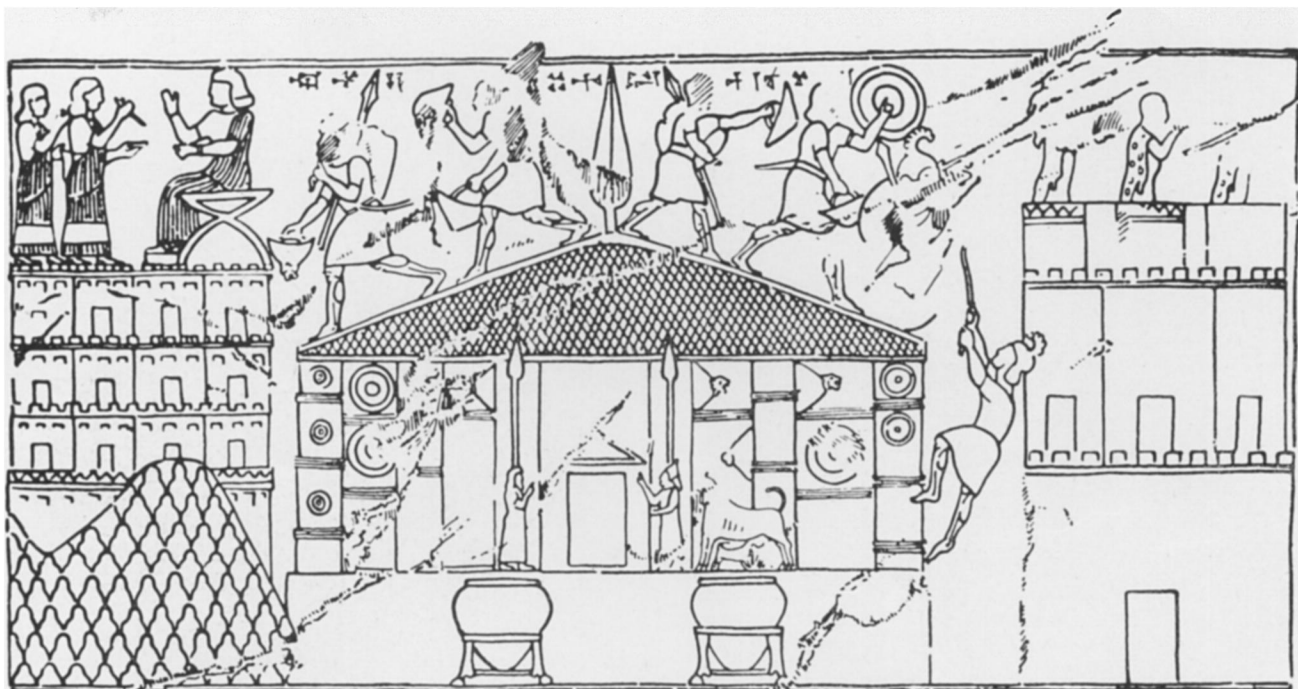


Fig. 11: Sack of the Urartian site of Muşafir by the Assyrians, detail from a relief of Dur-Sharrukin.

from the Mesopotamian experiences of the Semites — their powerful Assyrian rivals — from which, however, they drew so many sources of inspiration. This is, in other words, the basic problem of the Western Asian character of Urartu, that is the problem of their early or even genetic relationships with the West. On the other hand, there is a definite question (chronologically documented) of the transmission of specific Urartian techniques and features to Greek, and from them to Italic centres in the eighth or seventh centuries.

In dealing with the first side of the question one might consider the resemblances, some of which have been noted above, between the archaeological and artistic documents of Urartu and those of Tel Halaf, and the small neo-Hittite States of Northern Syria and Cilicia. These countries came in contact, sometimes directly, with the proto-historical diaspora of the Greeks towards the East, a diaspora which had considerable influence on Greek art of the early archaic period (⁴⁵). Another series of connexions in the Western direction should also be borne in mind, such as the already well-known fact of the presence in Urartu of a pedimental temple architecture (Fig. 11) which obviously must be related to the striking evidence afforded by the Phrygian rock façades of Central Anatolia (⁴⁶), by the monuments of Caria and Lycia (⁴⁷), and, going further forward, by that of the area on which the Greek temples arose and spread. Moreover, we have seen that the decorative friezes with war chariots and horsemen, spread from Urartu to the Syro-Hittite region, and thence to Phrygia and the Greco-Italic world. We are therefore justified in recognising a certain territorial continuity, as shown by the appearance of motifs that connect the area of the Armenian highlands with the Aegean territories. We should stress the fact that these influences differ substantially and are independent of the spread of the Syro-Cypriote « orientalisising » maritime trends, because they followed, on the contrary, a « continental » route. We can note the attenuated and sporadic character of these influences in accordance with the slow, mediatory, and partial process of transmission through countries not favoured by easy land communications, as are the Anatolian territories, or along short sea routes, hugging the coast.

On the other hand, the bronzes of the Urartian type, which stand out conspicuously from the orientalisising Greco-Italic products, whether



Fig. 12: Altüntepe near Erzingan, bronze cauldron.

imported or imitated, suggest immediate transmissions, and it is therefore necessary to seek, in their case, for a different explanation. The route by which they were transmitted may be, and has been, discussed. It may have been by land, or else by sea, starting from the ports of Upper Syria (although, so far, they are missing from the Syro-Cypriote circle and their absence is not without significance) or, as Karo supposed (⁴⁸), it may have been by a sea route through the Black Sea. This last solution



Fig. 13: Cumae, bronze cauldron (Copenhagen, Danish National Museum).

would be more in keeping with the possibility of a direct contact with Urartu and would also explain why there is no trace of the influence of Syro-Cypriote orientalism. The absence of archaeological evidence would be partially justified by our still very scanty knowledge of the centres along the North Anatolian coast. But, if I am not mistaken, it would be more profitable to study, rather than the route followed, the causes and the manner of this transmission, considered from the cultural, social and economic standpoints.

We know that, during the period of sudden commercial prosperity and lively cultural curiosity which followed their organisation into city-states and their rapidly expanding colonising activities, the Greek island and coastal centres were able to attract enormous quantities of foreign materials, finished goods and products of Phoenician and Cypriote inspiration. This being the case, there is no reason why other countries should not have realised the advantages of turning their attention to such valuable markets in order to sell their goods. Undoubtedly, the Urartu kingdom was at this time the most advanced of the Near

East countries in artistic metal work and more especially in bronzes, so much so that its influence was felt even in Assyria (⁴⁹). Therefore there is every reason to suppose that the mining and metal industries of Urartu, producing more than the limited local demand required, and having their neighbouring markets blocked by constant wars with the Assyrians and by the growing threat offered by the Iranians, decided to turn their attention to the Western markets, in spite of the fact that they were so distant. And we must not discard, *a priori*, the hypothesis that master craftsmen, skilled in the art of metal work, may have seized the opportunity of emigrating towards more promising lands, faced as they were at home by growing political and economic instability which, according to the results of the Karmir Blur excavations, seems to have characterised Urartu during the seventh century. The route followed by these craftsmen, or by their works, towards western seas and lands may have been suggested by trade channels already known, or by common tastes and preferences, or by the technical interest shown by western local metallurgical centres, anxious



Fig. 14: Delphi, « Siren » attachment.



Fig. 15: Vetulonia, « Siren » attachment (Florence, Museo Archeologico).

to imitate eastern models. In this last respect, the idea is feasible, though by no means certain, that Etruria, also a metallurgical country, felt in a particularly keen manner the influence of the Urartian bronzes, a highly important element of its « orientalising » culture.

The various facts here re-examined, or else considered for the first time, add further interesting pages to the history of the relations between East and West at that time when the convergence of Mediterranean and circum-Mediterranean traditions was preparing the way for Greek (or perhaps we should use the wider expression Greco-Italic) artistic creation.

II.

The problem of the relationship between Urartu and the western classical countries seems now to be ripe for discussion. This is due not only to the discoveries in Armenia, but also and more especially to the keener and more widespread interest scholars are taking

in the problems concerning the influences exercised by the ancient Near East on the origin of Greek art (against the myth of its sudden « miraculous » birth). ⁽⁵⁰⁾

Our subject has been touched on or specifically treated in three recent publications, namely the articles of Pierre Amandry ⁽⁵¹⁾ and George M. A. Hanfmann ⁽⁵²⁾ on some Urartian bull's attachments, and the paper of Mrs. K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop on the Urartian bronzes in Etruria ⁽⁵³⁾. They call for critical comments and this leads me to a re-examination of the whole problem. ⁽⁵⁴⁾

Amandry's study takes as its starting point the illustration of four bulls' heads of which two, doubtlessly coming from Toprak-kale, are preserved in the British Museum, while the others are, respectively, in the Walters Art Gallery of Baltimore and in a Paris private collection. These bronzes constitute a unique series as regards type and style; they were originally attached to bird-shaped bronze plaques, as may be seen in one of the specimens

in the British Museum. This allows us to identify them as attachments belonging to sacrificial cauldrons like that of Erzingan (Fig. 12). And as the Erzingan cauldron has four such attachments, the author is rightly led to favor the supposition that these four heads belonged to one single vessel. Amandry thus distinguishes these attachments of Toprak-kale and Erzingan from the feature of the handle attachments for moveable rings that characterise the cauldron in Copenhagen (Fig. 13) as well as an important series of specimens found in Greece. The last feature links up more directly with the bird-shaped handle attachments with human heads, that is the so-called «siren» type or «Assurattaschen». Thus, broadly speaking, we should have, on the one hand, bull's head attachments without the ring, not used as handles and merely serving a decorative purpose, like the lions' and griffins' protomes on a well-known type of cauldron found in Greece and Etruria. They were four (or at least three) in number arranged round the brim of bronze vessels. On the other hand there were bull's head attachments for handles, like the «siren» type, one facing the other. Amandry recognises the essentially Urartian stamp of the first type of bull's heads, but denies that the heads decorating the Copenhagen cauldron are of Urartian origin, suggesting, however, that they come from an unspecified Oriental centre. He notes moreover the exclusively western origin of the bull's head handle attachments with moveable rings. But this last point — to which the author himself attaches little importance — would seem to have been already nullified by the mimeographed addenda to the off-print of the article ⁽⁵⁵⁾, and it is actually disproved by bull's head attachments with pierced hole, found at Karmir-Blur (Fig. 3) ⁽⁵⁶⁾, and above all by the Gordion cauldrons recently discovered which will be mentioned at the end of this paper (Fig. 23).

Amandry's very valuable paper also deals with the shape and decoration of tripods (see above, p. 36 ff.) and with some figurines of rampant bulls which served as handles for bronze jugs or amphoras, when discussing a specimen in the Providence Museum. More generally the author stresses the importance of these bronzes for a knowledge of the sources of Greek «orientalising» civilisation.

Further light on the Urartian bronze bull's head attachments comes from the pieces illustrated by Hanfmann ⁽⁵⁷⁾. Two of them, in the

Fogg Art Museum and in the Louvre, have been identified with objects found in 1905 at Gusci, on Lake Urmia. They seem to form a homogeneous series (like the Toprak-kale group) with two specimens in Cincinnati and Cleveland, and are attributed by the Author to an Urartian handicraft, in spite of their coming from an eccentric area of the Armenian highlands.

This seems acceptable. But the Gusci heads show remarkable stylistic differences from the Toprak-kale heads, which are more compact and geometrical, with their rigid volumes and their sharper details of eyes and muzzle, and also of the curly manes. This may be due to different schools, or to the varying levels of skill of craftsmen engaged in the great metal crafts of Urartu of which we still know, or are able to distinguish, so little. Or it is perhaps a question of a different period. In any case it seems to me that this makes less improbable an Urartian origin of the bull's head attachments of the Copenhagen cauldron, which was denied by Amandry. We may observe in these heads the same more plastic and summary workmanship of the Gusci heads, and the same lack of the hair ring around the neck. On the other hand they recall the style of the Toprak-kale «sirens» which they resemble also as regards the sketchy feathers and the indented edges of the wings and tail of the bird-shaped plate. If this is the work of western imitators, as is also possible, their models or moulds could hardly be attributed to any centres other than Urartu.

Let us now consider the chronological problem. In dating the bronzes from Toprak-kale, Amandry takes as *terminus post quem* the age of King Rusas I, the founder of this city, whose reign is placed between 733 and 714 B.C. On the other hand, he follows Barnett's opinion, accepting as their latest limit the beginning of the seventh century. Both these dates seem, if I am not mistaken, unconvincing. The discoveries at Karmir-Blur show that objects clearly dated by the inscriptions to the eighth century, such as the weapons of Kings Menuas, Argishtis I, Sardur II, and Rusas I, might have been preserved and brought to light in a city founded in the first half of the seventh century. Therefore the bronze work found at Toprak-kale may be earlier than the date of its foundation. But, on the other hand, there is no reason to believe that the production of metal vessels with bull's head attachments ceased at the be-



Fig. 16: Vetulonia, « Siren » attachment (Florence, Museo Archeologico).



ginning of the seventh century, if we find a faithful imitation of them on a clay pot found at Karmir-Blur ⁽⁵⁸⁾, which it would be difficult to take for an object antedating the life of the city, and which probably belonged to its final period. Moreover, Hanfmann tentatively dates his Gusci bull's heads to the seventh century and thinks that this may be « a valuable indication that 'Urartian' art was capable of positive achievement even in its later phase ». ⁽⁵⁹⁾

We will keep in mind these arguments in discussing Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop's paper. She too takes as her starting point a piece heretofore unstudied, namely a « double-siren » attachment preserved in Paris in the Collection of the Marquis de Vogué and said to have been found near Lake Van ⁽⁶⁰⁾. On the strength of stylistic similarities and the presence of the pattern of triangles traced under the neck, the writer states that the male and female « siren » attachments from Praeneste (Tomba Bernardini) and Vetulonia (Circolo dei Lebeti) must be Urartian. She thinks, on the other hand, that the similar examples

Fig. 17: Caere, clay statuette portraying a seated man (Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori).

found in Greece were largely of local manufacture.

Also the big Barberini cauldron with griffin and lion protomes, and its stand portraying figures of winged genii with lions' bodies and human heads are considered as imported from Urartu. It should be noted that, in the upper part, this stand offers the same pomegranate pattern which appears also in the Idaean shield of Zeus and of the Corybantes, and in a golden disk from Toprak-Kale, as well as in the Karmir-Blur shields (Fig. 5). For the lion-sphinxes a comparison can be made more especially with figures from the reliefs of Tell Halaf and Karkemish.

The time and manner of these trends of influence from Armenia and North Syria to Etruria (inclusive of the influences coming from the more remote Iranian regions, with examples taken from the Ziwigé hoard and from Luristan) are studied by Mrs. Maxwell-Hysop in the second part of her paper. She ascribes the original work chiefly to the eighth century, and the emigration of these objects westward is believed not to be later. She suggests that the main route of transmission was from North Syria through the port of al Mina and that the ports of call might have been in Cy-

prus and Crete. However the Black Sea route is not excluded, probably acquiring importance only after the conquest of Syria by the King of Assyria, Tiglath-Pileser III, in 742 B.C. This very early trend of the Asiatic influences towards Italy should, in the Author's opinion, be linked up with the problem of the Eastern origin of the Etruscans, in the sense of Lehmann-Haupt's old theory ⁽⁶¹⁾. The export of Phoenician ivories and bowls to Italy might be later; so that if the « orientalis-ing » tombs of Central Italy in Praeneste and Caere date to the seventh century, the Urartian bronzes placed in them would already have been several generations old. The Author, however, seems inclined to date these tombs still further back (she would place the Warrior tomb of Tarquinia in the beginning of the eighth century, and the Bernardini-Barberini and Regolini-Galassi groups in about 725).

Mrs. Maxwell-Hysop's article is undoubtedly a very valuable contribution towards the discovery of the real relations existing between Italy and Western Asia, since it identifies that trend which I have called the « continental » trend ⁽⁶²⁾ among the many elements composing the so-called « orientalis-ing » civilisation. But



Fig. 18: Praeneste, Bernardini tomb, small silver gilt cauldron (Rome, Museo Pigorini).



Fig. 19.

I must confess to a certain perplexity at the Author's attempt to place on the same plane such motifs as the « siren » attachments, the griffin and lion protomes, and the reliefs of the Praeneste stands, and to attribute their origin, indiscriminately, to the metal-work of Urartu. It seems to me, moreover, that Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop has passed over Greece, disregarding its possible function as mediator in the most ancient and most interesting stage of the transmission from Asia to Etruria.

Naturally, the Urartian origin or inspiration of the « siren » attachments is indisputable, for we know several specimens of them which have actually been found in Urartu. I believe that their purchase or their imitation in Greece and Italy must have been immediate and direct, and have *taken place independently of the «orientalising» influences of the Syro-Cypriote area*. I also agree with Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop that the Praeneste and Vetulonia « sirens » are Urartian works, either imported from Urartu or worked somewhere or other by Urartian craftsmen. Their triangular pattern represents a typical motif of the Urartian metal work, found not only in the « sirens ». It appears, for instance, in the lower section of some silver medallions of Karmir-Blur⁽⁶³⁾ in the place filled by the pomegranate design

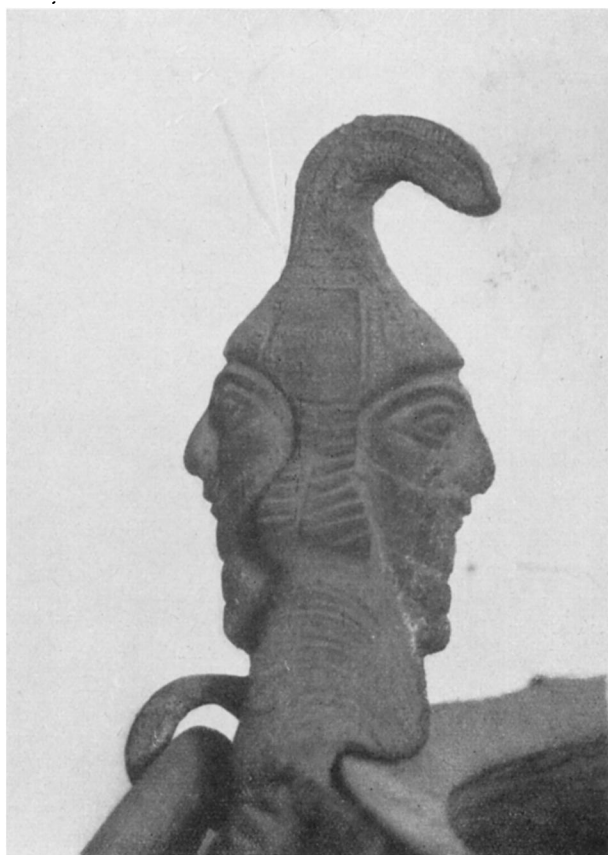


Fig. 20.

[Figs. 19-20]: Vetulonia, « Siren » attachment (Florence, Museo Archeologico).

on a similar golden medallion of Toprak-Kale (⁶⁴). This, however, does not exclude the possibility that the «siren» attachments found in Italy and Greece, or at least some of them, may be local imitations of models imported or else were produced in local workshops opened by immigrant craftsmen (⁶⁵). It does not seem to me possible to produce indisputable and decisive evidence of the Asian or of the Western production of the individual specimens in our possession. I must here repeat that only the physical-chemical analysis of the bronzes might afford us such proof (⁶⁶).

I would here insert two other remarks about the «sirens». In the first place, as regards sex. It is generally considered that the beardless figures (characterised by hair cut in «page style», close to the head round the neck, and puffed out at the sides, or divided vertically in ringlets: figs. 6, 14-16) are female. Hence the current and widespread definition of «sirens». It is only for the bearded figures of the Vetulonia type that the term «male sirens» is used. In my opinion, however, some of the beardless figures may be male. I am strengthened in this opinion by the innumerable examples of beardless youths with the same hair-cut falling round the neck and with ringlets, occurring in the Assyrian, Urartian, Syro-Hittite and other monuments. I would mention, as valuable examples, the Urartian bronze figurine of the god Tesheba found at Karmir-Blur (Fig. 2) and the well-known Etruscan terracotta statuette from Caere in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Fig. 17), closely inspired, as is known, by the style of the Urartian «sirens». (⁶⁷)

My second remark refers to the bearded head on the griffin cauldron of Vetulonia (figs. 19, 20), whose curved head-covering has been compared by Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop to that of some Assyrian and North Syrian figures, and of a bronze figurine in the Museum of Perugia (⁶⁸). I leave on one side the oriental examples and the question of a possible relation between this head-covering and the origin of the Phrygian cap. I wish instead to add another extraordinary specimen of Western origin which has not so far been taken into consideration for this purpose. I refer to the bronze figurine of a human-headed bull in Cagliari, from Nule (figs. 21, 22) (⁶⁹). This work belongs to the well-known series of Sardinian bronzes and is of local manufacture. But its head-dress, the general treatment of the body, and the hybrid curled (scorpion-shaped?) tail, provide inte-



Fig. 21.

[Figs. 21-22]: Nule, Sardinia, small bronze figure of a man-headed bull (Cagliari, Museo Nazionale).

resting points to compare the Asian typology studied by Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop in relation to the figures of the Barberini stand. On the other hand, there are no wings and we can note instead two little raised arms which point to an influence of the proto-Hellenic type of the centaur. The head-dress has a widened appendage hanging down in front of the face. There can be no doubt that this corresponds to that of the head-covering of the Urartian heads of the Vetulonia cauldron. But the appendage is clearly distinct from the body of the head-dress, as if it were a plume, linking up with the fashion of the helmets of several other small Sardinian bronzes representing warriors ⁽⁷⁰⁾. A careful examination of the Vetulonian heads enables us moreover to recognise in those specimens also a distinction

made between the part folded over (border or plume) and the head-covering itself. In my opinion the Nule monster affords further most valuable evidence of the spread of Asian motifs westward.

Dependence on the Urartian artistic centres, which is evident in the case of the « siren » attachments, seems to me to become more obscure and doubtful in the case of the cauldrons ornamented with griffins and lions, and of their conical stands, such as those of the Praeneste tombs. I cannot deny the value of the remarks, more especially of a technical and typological nature, made by Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop. But the absence of similar evidence actually found in Urartu leads to perplexity regarding the working centres of these objects which, in many cases and from many



Fig. 22.

points of view, seem to be of a secondary and reflex nature in relation to what may have been the original sources or distinctive motifs. The relation that may exist with the Tel Halaf reliefs and more generally speaking with the Syro-Hittite sculpture, do not, strictly speaking, offer automatic evidence of direct connections with Urartu. Urartu and North Syria were neighbouring and closely interdependent artistic centres ⁽⁷¹⁾, but cannot be classified as identical in a positive manner. I have the impression that the whole problem calls for great delicacy in its treatment, and full awareness of its complexity and many nuances. For the present I should be content to define all these bronzes by making use of the more general term of « Asiatic-continental » trend, by which I mean an inspiration coming from the Urartian, North Mesopotamian, North Syrian, East Anatolian centres. And I would extend these influences also to other bronzes not considered by Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop, such as some of the repoussé reliefs of the Regolini-Galassi group (though certainly wrought in Italy and unaffected by Syro-Cypriote influences). One cannot disregard, for instance, the affinity of the lions and bulls on the Regolini-Galassi cauldron and stand ⁽⁷²⁾ with those portrayed on Urartian shields and bowls. ⁽⁷³⁾

The Urartian and even the « Asiatic-continental » origin of the hammered or cast griffin and lion protomes attached to the cauldrons seems to me still more questionable. ⁽⁷⁴⁾ Though I don't believe they may be a Greek invention, I note that such protomes are exceptional in Asia ⁽⁷⁵⁾, and that there is no direct evidence for Urartu. A small silver cauldron coming from the Bernardini tomb (Fig. 18) ⁽⁷⁶⁾ shows snake protomes, very similar to the commoner griffins and lions, but, on the other hand, closely linked with the well-known Syro-Cypriote bowls decorated with concentric friezes. We might think of an eclectic work and even of an Etruscan pasticcio, but it is also possible that the feature of cauldron ornamented with griffins and lions was invented in the Syro-Cypriote *milieu* rather than in Urartu.

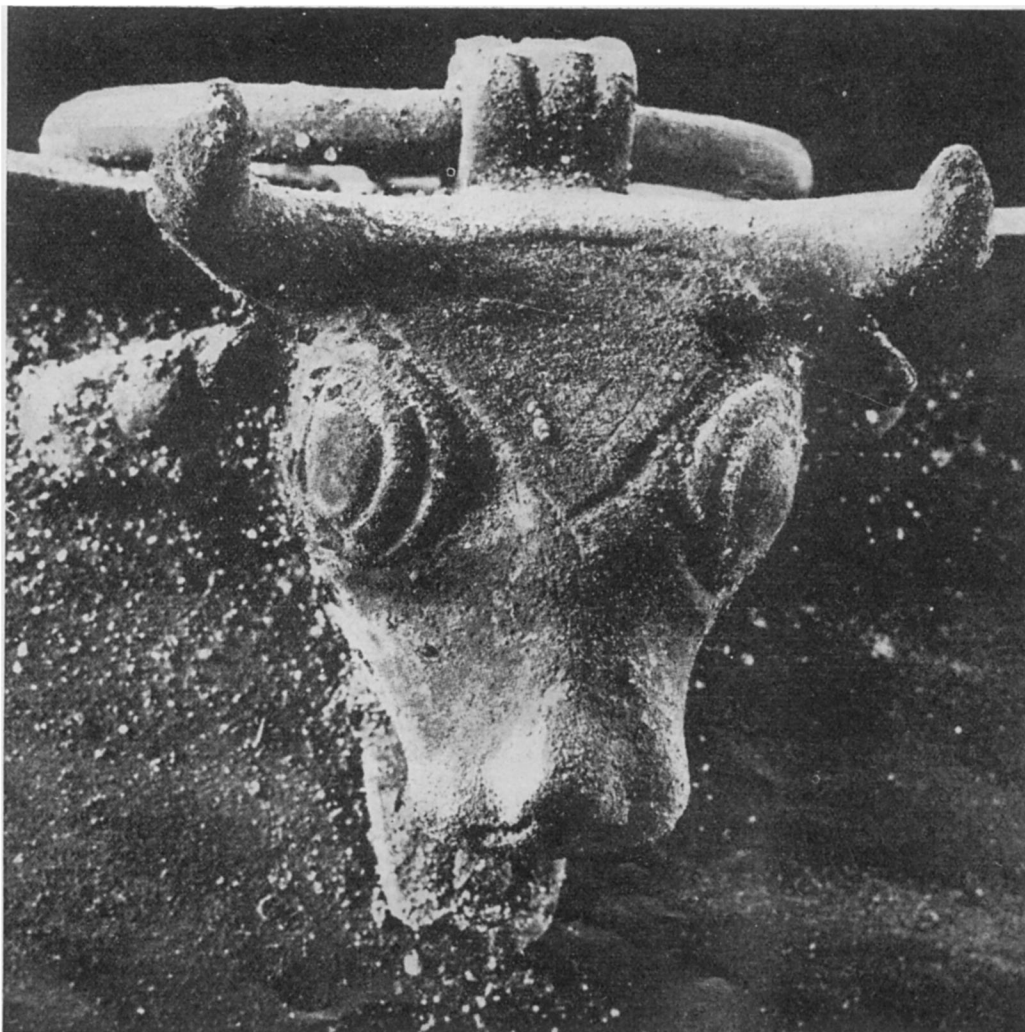
Let us now discuss Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop's conclusions as regards history and chronology. She states that the Urartian influence on Etruria must be fixed within the limits of the flowering of the Urartu Kingdom before its decay in the second half of the eighth century. Consequently, the distinction drawn between the main trends of « orientalising » influences

on Etruria (which we may call the « Asiatic-continental » and the « Syro-Cypriote » trends) would have to be explained by a chronological difference, the first belonging to the eighth and the second to the seventh century. But we know that the artistic development of Urartu was not interrupted by the crisis occurring at the end of the eighth century, and that it lasted on down to the fall of that Kingdom at the beginning of the sixth century ⁽⁷⁷⁾. The date of 742 to which Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop seems to ascribe special importance as being the last limit of the period during which Urartian works came to the Mediterranean through North Syria, would seem in any case to be too far back. The fact that the political power of Assyria — which moreover was long opposed — acquired the control of the Syrian coast, does not necessarily imply the immediate cessation of traffic from the inland areas to the coast. At most, it may have favored progressively, in the period from the end of the eighth century and during the seventh, that relative isolation of the centres of production and that divergence of trades which may perhaps have given rise to that distinction between the « Asiatic-continental » trend (which followed mainly the Anatolian and Black Sea routes) and the « Syro-Cypriote » trend that spread across the Mediterranean. Thus understood, historical-political events may help us to interpret archaeological facts that are still far from clear. ⁽⁷⁸⁾

No one wishes to deny the existence of very early Eastern influences on the civilisation of the Iron Age in Italy. Some Anatolian and Syro-Hittite features repeated in the small plastic arts of Central Italy and Sardinia or reflected on the « Villanovan » gravestones of North Italy ⁽⁷⁹⁾, the imitation of Cypriote tripods and stands on wheels, even if we leave out of account the wide-spread trade of Syro-Egyptian faience and beads, show that the contacts date back to the eighth century and perhaps even further. We cannot, however, in any way prove that the importation of Urartian bronzes belongs to these earliest trends of oriental influences on Italy, and that it was a direct transmission without the mediation of the Aegean world ⁽⁸⁰⁾.

No specimens of Urartian metal work which can be safely dated to the eighth century have hitherto been found in « Villanovan » or early « orientalising » tombs. This is the case, for instance, of the round shields with concentric friezes or with animal umbones, which are

Fig. 23: Detail of a bronze cauldron with bull' heads found at Gordion.



conspicuously present in Crete. On the contrary, Italy tries to imitate these types only tardily and timidly.

The ripe orientalising finds at Praeneste and Caere actually show, on the other hand, that the « Asiatic-continental » imports or influences (such as the « siren » attachments) were contemporary with the « Syro-Cipriote » features (silver bowls, ivory, jewelry). Nor is it worth while trying to defend the theory of an earlier introduction of the Urartian bronzes by supposing that they were placed in the tombs after being used for several generations ⁽⁸¹⁾, for this is likewise and equally possible for other types of furniture, vessels and jewels.

I hold, therefore, my opinion that the variety of the « orientalising » influences on Italy must be ascribed to different trends and routes rather than to different periods. The chronology of the Italian « orientalising » finds has now been fixed in a way which it would be difficult to change. It starts from the *terminus ante quem non* of the vase of Bocchoris (end of the eighth century), and may fluctuate

by a few decades but not by many. We must accept the conclusion that the main body of imports and Eastern influences — even if prior to the date of the burials — cannot date back further than the beginning of the seventh century. The paramount « orientalising » of Western Italy is to be considered as a single though complex movement in which Greece played a considerable part. Among the main factors of this movement, we can recognise that « Asiatic-continental » trend which is represented above all by the imports, the features, and perhaps also by the activity of metal smiths coming from Urartu.

Further and unexpected evidence of the route of the Urartian influences towards the West is given now by the news of an extraordinary discovery made in 1957 at Gordion by the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania ⁽⁸²⁾. An intact tomb, with its timber walls, bronze and wooden furniture, magnificent bronze vessels and ornaments, has been brought to light in the biggest tumulus of the Gordian plain. It was made for an old prince of Midas' royal house, at the height of the

prosperity of the Phrygian Kingdom. Some pieces belong to the bronze works that have been the object of our study, namely a cauldron with two bull's head attachments (Fig. 23), and two cauldrons with four « siren » attachments (one of them showing couples of bearded and unbearded « sirens »). The cauldrons stood on iron ring stands.

The mere information of this sensational find seems to be sufficient to enlighten some fundamental points of the above discussed problems:

1) Cauldrons of the bulls' head type and of the « siren » type appear together for the first time, so far as I know. This brings strong evidence of their common (Uartian) origin. It is interesting to note that no cauldrons of the bulls' head type have hitherto been found in the great « orientalising » tombs of Western Italy, which are characterized by the « siren » cauldrons, as well as by the cauldrons with griffins' and lions' protomes (absent at Gordion). The metal work from the Gordion tomb seems, therefore, on the whole, *more closely and exclusively Uartian than that to be found in Italy.*

2) The cauldron with bull's head attachments bearing holes for handles is the first specimen of this type certainly found in Asia, among other presumably Uartian bronzes. This shows, in my opinion, that the closely similar Copenhagen cauldron from Cumae can be more safely considered as Uartian (whether original or imitated).

3) Fresh evidence, of inestimable value, is added for the origin of the cauldrons of the « siren » type, such as those belonging to the Praeneste and Vetulonia burial equipments. The find of Gordian provides us with two entirely preserved examples of certain Asiatic (*i.e.* Uartian) manufacture, one of them portraying bearded heads or « male sirens ». ⁽⁸³⁾

4) The whole of the typical Uartian bronzes found at Gordion, in the heart of Asia Minor, *is a very significant link between Armenia and the Aegean.* It confirms my opinion that the trend of influences towards West which I have called the « Asiatic-continental » trend, must have followed the northern route, namely a continental Anatolian (and perhaps also a Pontic) route, rather than the southern Mediterranean one.

5) No traces of certain Syro-Cypriote products or motifs, such as those largely testified in Italy together with the Uartian bronzes, can be recognised at Gordion ⁽⁸⁴⁾. This adds

evidence for an original clear distinction between the « Asiatic-continental » and the « Syro-Cypriote » orientalising trends, *which are mingled in the West.*

6) The date of the Gordion tomb can be fixed at about 700 B.C. ⁽⁸⁵⁾. It fits to the middle point of the Uartian production, and on the other hand, to the presence of the Uartian bronzes in the seventh century tombs of Western Italy. In any case, the chronological datum disagrees with Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop's opinion that the trade from Uartu westward ceased before the end of the eighth century.

We can now, on these bases, once more outline a definite interpretation of facts. The mastery of the Uartian metal smiths was predominant over all Western Asia from Mesopotamia to Phrygia, at the end of the eighth century until the beginning of the seventh, when the Assyrian pressure and the Cimmerian invasion struck at the « Asiatic-continental » supremacy. The « Asiatic-continental » influence had probably reached the Aegaeon before these events. But it may have been intensified as a consequence of the decay of Uartu and the fall of the Phrygian Kingdom, through the migration of Asiatic craftsmen westwards. This event may be tentatively fixed in the first half of the seventh century.

Just in the first half of the seventh century we have, on the other hand, the earliest evidence of the arrival of these influences as far as Etruria, if the terracotta cauldron with stand from the Bocchoris tomb of Tarquinii imitates a bronze prototype of Uartian features. The « siren » cauldrons from Praeneste and Vetulonia, so like the specimens now discovered at Gordion, may belong to this period, though they were buried in tombs which have to be dated slightly later. But in any case, the presence of Uartian bronzes in Etruria can hardly be earlier than the Syro-Cypriote influence and separable from it. Both the orientalising trends had in fact already met in the Greek Aegean and had jointly reached Italy.

Massimo Pallottino

⁽¹⁾ Proceedings published by the Giunta Centrale per gli Studi Storici, Firenze, Sansoni, 1955.

⁽²⁾ Cfr. B. B. PIOTROVSKY, *New contribution to the Study of Ancient Civilisations in the USSR* (Reports of the Soviet Delegations at the X International Congress of Historical Science in Rome), Moskva, 1955 (in Russian and in English).

⁽³⁾ B. B. PIOTROVSKY, *Karmir-Blur*, I-III, Erivan, 1950, 1952, 1955 (quoted subsequently as *Karmir-Blur*); see also B. B. PIOTROVSKY, P. N. SCHULTZ, V. A. GOLOVKINA, S. P. TOLSTOV, *Ourartou-Neapolis des Scythes-Kharezem* (L'Orient Ancien illustré, 8) Paris, 1954; R. D. BARNETT WATSON,

« Russian Excavations in Armenia », *Iraq*, XIV, Part. 2, 132 ff.; and the publication quoted in the previous note. My warm thanks are due to my colleague Pietrovsky for the information he gave me verbally, for the gift of his main publication on the excavations at Karmir-Blur, and for some photos illustrating this article.

(4) On the people and civilisation of Urartu: C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, I. II, Berlin-Leipzig, 1910, 1926, 1931; A. GÖTZE, *Kleinasien (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients, III)*, München, 1933, pp. 173-185; J. FRIEDRICH, *Einführung ins Urartäisch*, Leipzig, 1933; H. TH. BOSSERT *Altanatolien*, Berlin, 1942, p. 87 ff. figg. 1131-1204; B. B. PIOTROVSKY, *Istorija i kultura Urartu*, 1944; K. BITTEL, *Grundzüge der vor- und frühgeschichte Kleinasien*, Tübingen, 1950, p. 78 ff. 129 ff., with more detailed bibliographies (these works are referred to in abbreviated form in the following notes).

(5) BITTEL, *Grundzüge*, p. 79 ff.

(6) GÖTZE, *Kleinasien*, p. 183, ff.

(7) G. KARO, « Orient und Hellas in archaischer Zeit », *Ath. Mitt* XLV, 1920, p. 148, ff.

(8) E. HERZFELD, *Janus*, I. p. 152 ff.

(9) *Armenien*, II, 2, 1931, p. 479 ff., 64 ff., 859 ff.

(10) LEHMANN-HAUPT, *Atti del Congresso intern. di Studi Etruschi*, Firenze, 1929, p. 78 ff.; F. SCHACHERMAYER, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* XIII, 1929, under *Tushpa*, p. 479; *Etruskische Frühgeschichte*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1929, p. 112 ff., 299 et seq.

(11) *Karmir-Blur*, II, p. 38 ff., fig. in Pl. 11, 15.

(12) *Karmir-Blur*, I, p. 63 ff., figg. 40-41 B, Pl. 12.

(13) *Karmir-Blur*, I, fig. 33, 38; III, fig. 16.

(14) *Karmir-Blur*, I, p. 67 ff., Pls. 13-16; II, p. 37 ff., fig. 20; III p. 36 ff.; fig. 26.

(15) E. BOSSERT, *Altanatolien*, fig. 764, 767, 862, 863, 886; *Altsyrien*, Tübingen, 1951, fig. 488-489 (see also reliefs of Tel Halaf; BOSSERT, *Altsyrien*, fig. 474-475).

(16) G. & A. KÖRTE, *Gordion (JdI, Herganzungsheft 5)*, 1904, p. 153 ff.; E. AKURGAL, *Phrygische Kunst*, Ankara, 1955, p. 69 ff. For the problem of the decorated terracotta plates in Asia Minor see A. ANDRÉN, *Architectural terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples (Acta Inst. Romani Regni Sueciae, VI)* Lund-Leipzig, 1940, p. lxxix ff.

(17) E. BOSSERT, *Altanatolien*, fig. 257.

(18) ANDRÉN, *Architectural Terracottas*, p. lxxix ff.

(19) ANDRÉN, *Architectural Terracottas*, p. cxvi ff. and more especially cxxx ff.; ÅKERSTRÖM « Untersuchungen über die figürlichen Terrakottafriese aus Etrurien und Latium » *Opuscula Romana* I (*Acta inst. Romana Regni Sueciae, XVIII*), 1954, p. 191 ff.

(20) BOSSERT, *Altsyrien*, fig. 481.

(21) S. FERRI « Confronti ammessi e non ammessi. Il confronto « genetico ». Osservazioni di metodo archeologico », *Rivista Ist. Arch. e St. Arte*, n. 8 III, 1954, p. 9 ff.

(22) Apart from former and recent contributions by scholars of the quality of F. Poulsen, Karo, V. Müller, Hanfmann, Demargne, to quote only a few of the more significant names, I venture to recall what I myself urged, when discussing methodology, on the need of enquiring into the origins of Greek art as related to the experience and traditions of the Near East (especially in *Arch. Cl.*, I, 1949 p. 208 ff., 211 ff., III, 1951, p. 221 ff., and in *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina*, IV, 1953, p. 259 ff.

(23) Bibliography in *Mostra dell'arte e della civiltà etrusca*, 2nd. edition, Milan, 1955, p. 6, n. 10.

(24) G. VON MERHART, « Zu den ersten Metallhelmen Europas », 30. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, 1941, p. 4 ff.

(25) See the article by VON MERHART, p. 16 ff., fig. 5, 6.

(26) *Karmir-Blur*, I, p. 62 ff.; III, p. 26 ff. Pls. I. X-XIII.

(27) References to the quotations made in the previous note: see BOSSERT, *Altanatolien*, fig. 1198.

(28) BOSSERT, *Altanatolien*, fig. 1151, 1209.

(29) G. LIPPOLD, « Griechische Schilde », *Münchener Studien*, 1909, p. 201 ff.; G. VON MERHART, « Donauländische Beziehungen der früheisenzeitlichen Kulturen Mittelitaliens » *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 147, 1942, p. 18 ff.; H. HENCKEN « Herzsprung Shields and Greek Trade », *AJA*, LIV 1950, p. 295 ff.

(30) E. KUNZE, *Kretischer Bronzereliefs*, Stuttgart, 1913, p. 6 ff., 52 ff., Pls. I ff.; P. DEMARGNE, *La Crète dédalique*, Paris, 1947, p. 229 ff. Some specimens of the same kind are however found also in Cyprus: see E. GJERSTAD *The Cypro-*

geometric, Cypro-Classical Periods (The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, IV 1), Stockholm, 1948, p. 140, fig. 24.

(31) BOSSERT, *Altanatolien*, fig. 1151. For the expansion of this type, see KUNZE, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, p. 61 ff.

(32) KUNZE, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, pls. 451, F. On the motif see *ibid* p. 104 ff.

(33) ÅKERSTRÖM, *Der geometrische Stil in Italien*, p. 102 ff. Specimens in O. MONTELIUS, *La Civilisation primitive en Italie, Italie centrale*, Stockholm, 1904, pls. 251, 327, 337, 376n (some from the Faliscan and Latian territory); A. MINTO, *Marsiliana d'Albegna*, Firenze, 1921, p. 260 ff., fig. 26, 27; *Populonia*, Firenze, 1943, p. 143, fig. 49.

(34) *Karmir-Blur*, I, p. 70, fig. 44.

(35) H. HENNING « Von der Osten », in *Bericht über den VI Intern. Kongress für Archäologie*, Berlin, 1940, p. 225 ff., pl. 9 a; R. D. BARNETT, N. GÖÇE, *Anatolian Studies*, III, 1953, p. 121 ff., pls. XIII, XIV, XIX 1; BOSSERT, *Altanatolien*, fig. 1194.

(36) *Karmir-Blur*, I, p. 70, fig. 43.

(37) O. KLINDT-JENSEN, *Bronzekedelen fra Brä* (Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter III), Aarhus, 1953, pp. 24 and 67.

(38) KLINDT-JENSEN *op. cit.* See also S. BENTON, *ABSA*, XXXV, 1934-35, p. 82 ff. et seq.; P. J. RIIS, « Rod Tripods » *Acta Archaeologica*, X, 1939, p. 1 ff.

(39) KUNZE, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, p. 257 ff. and in *Reinecke Festschrift*, 1950, p. 100 ff.; G. HANFMANN, *Alte-truskische Plastik*, I, Würzburg, 1936, p. 13 ff.

(40) See p. 42 of the present paper.

(41) Quoted in note 38.

(42) E. MONTELIUS, *La civilisation primitive*, II, pts. 101, 185, 191 etc.; NS, 1901, p. 225 ff.; P. ORLANDINI, *Arch Cl.*, VIII, 1956, p. 2 ff. with bibliography.

(43) BOSSERT, *Altanatolien*, fig. 1185.

(44) *Olympia*, IV, n. 477, pl. XXV, *Fouilles de Delphes*, V. 1908 p. 56, n. 179, fig. 176, etc.

(45) DEMARGNE, *La Crète dédalique*, more especially p. 129 ff. A singular trend of connecting links between the neo-Hittite decorative sculpture with monuments in North Italy, from which Syro-Cypriote orientalisering intermediary is excluded, has been pointed out by L. POLACCO, *St. Etr.*, XXI, 1950, 51, p. 59 ff. It may be considered as one of the rather enigmatic facts to which reference is made.

(46) BOSSERT, *Altanatolien*, fig. 1025-1043.

(47) BOSSERT, *Altanatolien*, fig. 214-215, 228, 231, 233, 255.

(48) *Ath. Mitt*, XLV, 1920, p. 148 ff.

(49) GÖTZE, *Kleinasien*, p. 183 ff.; BITTEL, *Grundzüge*, p. 81.

(50) Cfr. especially R. D. BARNETT, « Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece », in *The Aegean and the Near East. Studies Presented to H. Goldman*, 1956, p. 212 ff.

(51) « Chaudrons à protomes de taureau en Orient et en Grèce », *The Aegean and the Near East*, p. 239-261, pls. XXIV-XXXII.

(52) « Four Urartian Bulls' Heads », *Anatolian Studies*, VI, 1956, p. 205-213, pls. XVII-XX. Further evidence of Hanfmann's opinion in *Gnomon*, 29, 1957, p. 241 ff. (see note 74).

(53) « Urartian Bronzes in Etruscan Tombs », *Iraq*, XVIII, Part 2, 1956, p. 150-167, pls. XXV-XXXIV.

(54) These articles have appeared after the publication of my article in *Arch Cl.*, VII, 1955, p. 109 ff. (corresponding to the first part of the present paper), but independently from it, and each one from the other. One might say that this discussion was « in the air »! Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop alone has been able to include a short bibliographical reference to my article in her last proof sheets.

(55) Making reference to a bull's head with a handle and ring from Idalion in Cyprus.

(56) *Karmir-Blur*, I, p. 70, fig. 43. Amandry's knowledge of these processes was obtained only from the frontal drawing, so that he prudently judged as uncertain, the presence of a pierced hole for the handle and chiefly the fact that it ever belonged to a cauldron (*op. cit.* p. 246, note 18). The *Karmir-Blur* attachments were found fixed to a bronze vessel described by Piotrovsky as a *vederko* (a situle?), but they must be considered as actual handle attachments, as their holes held bronze wire rings.

(57) *Op. cit.* above, note 52, p. 210-211.

(58) *Karmir-Blur*, I, p. 70, fig. 43.

(59) *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

(60) *Op. cit.* above, note 53, pl. XXVI, 1, 2.

(61) Cfr. p. 30, note 10.

(62) See p. 39.

(63) *Karmir-Blur*, III, figs 5 and 11.

(64) BOSSERT, *Altanatolien*, 1200.

(65) Cfr. p. 40 ff.

(66) I venture to suggest and to hope that enquiries of this kind may be made, perhaps on the plane of an international collaboration.

(67) Bibliography in *Mostra dell'arte e della civiltà etrusca*, Milano, 2nd edition, 1955, n. 36.

(68) Op. cit., p. 151-152 and note 1 to p. 152.

(69) G. LILLIU, *Sculture della Sardegna nuragica*, Cagliari, 1956, n. 99-101, p. 18 and 62, with the previous bibliography.

(70) LILLIU, op. cit., nn. 63, 65, 69, 74, 75.

(71) Cfr. p. 39.

(72) PARETI, op. cit., pls. XXI, n. 196, XXXIX.

(73) Shields: see p. 34 ff., fig. 5. Bronze bowl from Toprak-kale: *Karmir-Blur*, III, fig. 17-20, pls. X, XI.

(74) See U. JANTZEN, *Griechische Greifenkessel*, 1955: review by HANFMANN in *Gnomon*, 29, 1957, p. 242 sgg. Strong arguments against the conclusions by Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop are brought by Hanfmann, *ibid*, p. 245.

(75) The only specimen of a bronze griffin protome of ascertained Asiatic origin seems to be that found at Susa: AMANDRY, BCH, 1944-45, p. 71; MAXWELL-HYSLOP, op. cit., 156 note 1 and p. 161-162.

(76) *Mostra dell'arte e della civiltà etrusca*, n. 94.

(77) See p. 30. Moreover bronze shields, very similar to those found at Karmir-Blur and belonging to the eighth century kings, are inscribed with the names of Rusas II (680-645 B.C.) and Rusas III (c. 600 B.C.). This shows that artistic traditions survived with apparently unaltered style, as long as political and social conditions remained unchanged.

(78) I am very glad to read now, after the first edition of my paper, the same conclusions by Hanfmann in *Gnomon*, 29, 1957, p. 247.

(79) See note 45.

(80) For a Greek mediation see also BARNETT, op. cit. in *The Aegean and the Near East*, p. 231 ff.

(81) MAXWELL-HYSLOP, op. cit., p. 166.

(82) «The Royal Tomb at Gordion» (news by Dr. Rodney S. Young), *Archaeology*, X, Autumn 1957, p. 217 ff., with figs.

(83) For the question of the sex of these figures see, however, above, p. 46.

(84) The bronze bowls with raised boss, not less than eighty specimens of them have been found in this tomb, provide us with no specific evidence for a Syro-Cypriote origin, since they are widespread over all the Near Eastern countries and in orientализing Greece and Italy (cfr. E. GJERSTAD, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, IV, 2, 1948, p. 405 sgg.). One can remark, however, that they seem to be particularly frequent among the finds of the «Asiatic-continental» area, i. e. Asia Minor, Anatolia and Caucasus.

(85) Dr. Young (*Archaeology*, X, p. 219) dates the tomb slightly earlier than the tumulus P and Körte's Tumulus III, that is toward the end of the eighth century. The mere historical evidence of the Cimmerian invasion would be, however, insufficient for a precise chronology pointing at an eighth century date, since the moment of Mida's fall (696 or 676 B.C.) is yet questionable, and could itself not be quoted as an absolute *terminus ante quem* for a royal tomb at Gordion. (Cfr. E. AKURGAL, *Phrygische Kunst*, 1955, pp. 103, 124).

NOTE — As this article was going to press I have received, by my colleague Professor C. F. C. Hawkes, his paper «On Some Buckets and Cauldrons of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages», written in collaboration with Miss M. A. Smith, and published in *The Antiquaries Journal*, XXXVII, 1957, pp. 131-198. A large summary of this valuable study has already formed the theme of a lecture held by Professor Hawkes at the University of Rome, in March 1957, and given occasion for profitable discussions. Professor Hawkes' paper deals with the problem of the Urartian bronzes and the Urartian influences westwards at p. 165 ff. Some of its historical and chronological points of view seem to adhere to Mrs Maxwell-Hyslop's position, chiefly as regards the *terminus* of Tiglath-Pileser III's conquest of North Syria in 743/42, and a consequent high date (eighth century) for the transmission of the original Urartian bronzes to Greece and Etruria. These suggestions however are stated with a praiseworthy caution (see note 2 at p. 171). In general I could agree with Hawkes' conclusions at p. 175, but my arguments and the new discoveries at Gordion can probably lower the first reception of continental-Asiatic bronzes in Etruria rather around 700 or in the first half of the seventh century. (M. P.)

